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# THE WESTERN CAROLINIAN.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY:—ASHBEL SMITH AND JOSEPH W. HAMPTON PROPRIETORS.—[Vol. 15, No. 47—Whole No. 777.]

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## The Western Carolinian.

BY ASHBEL SMITH & JOSEPH W. HAMPTON

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1. The Western Carolinian is published every Saturday, at Two Dollars per annum if paid in advance, or Two Dollars and Fifty Cents if not paid before the expiration of three months.

2. No paper will be discontinued until all arrears are paid, unless at the discretion of the Editor.

3. Subscriptions will not be received for a less time than one year; and a failure to notify the Editor of a wish to discontinue, at the end of a year, will be considered as a new engagement.

4. Any person who will procure six subscribers to the Carolinian, and take the trouble to collect and transmit their subscription-money to the Editor, shall have a paper gratis during their continuance.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

1. To insure prompt attention to Letters addressed to the Editor, the postage should in all cases be paid.

## EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE.

### REMARKS OF MR. CALHOUN.

On the Bill to repeal the Four Years Law, and to regulate the power of removal.

Mr. CALHOUN said, the question involved in the third section of the bill, whether the power to dismiss an officer of the government can be controlled and regulated by Congress, or is under the exclusive and unlimited control of the President, is no ordinary question, which may be decided either way, without materially affecting the character and practical operation of the government. It is, on the contrary, a great and fundamental question; on the decision of which will materially depend the fact, whether this government shall prove to be what those who framed it supposed it was, a free, popular, and Republican Government, or a monarchy in disguise.

This important question, said Mr. C., has been very fully and ably discussed by those who have preceded me on the side I intend to advocate. It is not my intention to repeat their arguments, nor to enforce them by additional illustration. I propose to confine myself to a single point of view, but that point I hold to be decisive of the question.

If the power to dismiss is possessed by the Executive, he must hold it in one of two modes; either by an express grant of the power by the Constitution, or as a power necessary and proper to execute some power expressly granted by that instrument. All the powers under the constitution may be classed under one or the other of these heads; there is no intermediate class. The first question then is, has the President the power in question by an express grant in the constitution: he who affirms that he has, is bound to show it. That instrument is in the hands of every member; the portion containing the delegation of power to the President is short. It is comprised in a few sentences. I ask the Senators to open the constitution, to examine it, and to find, if they can, any authority given to the President to dismiss a public officer. None such can be found; the constitution has been carefully examined, and no one pretends to have found such a grant. Well then, as there is none such, if it exists at all, it must exist as a power necessary and proper to execute some granted power; but if it exists in that character, it belongs to Congress and not to the Executive. I venture not this assertion hastily: I speak on the authority of the constitution itself—the express and unequivocal authority which cannot be denied nor contradicted. Hear what that sacred instrument says:—“Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers,” (those granted to Congress itself), “and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.” Mark the fullness of the expression. Congress shall have the power to make all laws, not only to carry into effect the powers expressly delegated to itself, but those delegated to the government, or any department or office thereof; and of course comprehends the power to pass laws necessary and proper to carry into effect the powers expressly granted to the Executive Department. It follows of course, that to whatever express grant of power to the Executive, the power of dismissal may be supposed to attach; whether to that of seeing the law faithfully executed, or to the still more comprehensive grant, as contended for by some, vesting Executive powers in the President, the mere fact that it is a power appertaining to another power, and necessary to carry it into effect, transfers it, by the provisions of the constitution cited, from the Executive to Congress, and places it under the control of Congress, to be regulated in the manner which it may judge best. If there be truth in reasoning on political subjects, the conclusion to which I have arrived cannot be resisted. I would entreat gentlemen who are opposed to me, said Mr. C., to pause and reflect; and to point out, if possible, the slightest flaw in the argument, or to find a page on which to hang a doubt. Can they deny that all powers under the constitution are either powers specifically granted, or powers necessary and proper to carry such into execution? Can it be said that there are inherent powers comprehended in either of these classes, and existing by a sort of divine right in the government? The Senator from New York (Mr. Wright) attempted to establish some

such position, but the moment that my colleague touched it with the spear of truth, he (Mr. W.) shrunk from the deformity of his own conception. Or can it be asserted that there are powers derived from obligations higher than the constitution itself? The very intimation of such a source of power hurled from office the predecessor of the present incumbent. But if it cannot be denied that the powers under the constitution are comprised under one or the other of these classes, and if it is acknowledged, as it is on all sides, that the power of dismissal is not specifically granted by the constitution, it follows by irresistible and a necessary consequence, that the power belongs not to the Executive but to Congress, to be regulated and controlled at its pleasure.

I would be gratified, said Mr. C., that any one who entertains an opposite opinion would attempt to refute this argument, and to point out wherein it is defective; and such perfect confidence do I feel in its soundness, that I will yield the floor to any Senator who may rise and say he is prepared to refute it. [Here Mr. Talmadge, from New York, rose, and said that he was not satisfied with the argument and would attempt to show its error.—Mr. C. sat down for the purpose of giving him an opportunity, when Mr. T. began a formal speech, on the subject generally, without attempting to meet Mr. C.'s argument, when the latter arose and said, that Mr. T. had mistaken him; that he did not yield the floor for the purpose of enabling Mr. T. to make a speech, but to enable him to refute the argument which Mr. C. had advanced, and that if Mr. T. was not prepared to do so, he, Mr. C., would proceed in the discussion.]

Mr. C. proceeded and said: The argument on which I have replied, has been alluded to by the Senator from Tennessee (Judge White), and my friend from Kentucky, who sits before me (Judge Bibb), and the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy), whom I am sorry not to see in his place, attempted a reply. He objected to the argument, on the ground that the construction put upon the clause of the constitution which has been quoted, would divest the President of a power expressly granted him by the Constitution. I must, said Mr. C., express my amazement that one so clear sighted and so capable of appreciating the just force of an argument, would give such an answer. Were the power of dismissal a granted power, the argument would be sound; but as it is not, to contend that the construction would divest him of the power, is an assumption without the slightest foundation to sustain it. It is his construction, in fact, which divests Congress of an expressly granted power, and not ours which divests the President of his power. I would not have the authority expressly granted of passing all laws necessary and proper to carry into effect the granted powers, under the pretext that the exercise of such power on the part of Congress would divest the Executive of a power nowhere granted in the Constitution.

I feel, said Mr. C., that I must appear to repeat unnecessarily what of itself is so clear and simple as to require no illustration; but I know the obstinacy of party feeling and preconceived opinions, and with what difficulty they yield to the clearest demonstrations. Nothing can overthrow them but repeated blows.

Such, said Mr. C., are the arguments by which I have been forced to conclude, that the power of dismissing is not lodged in the President, but is subject to be controlled and regulated by Congress. I say forced, because I have been compelled to the conclusion in spite of my previous impression.—Relying upon the early decision of the question, and the long acquiescence in that decision, I had concluded, without examination, that the decision had not been disturbed because it rested upon principles too clear and strong to admit of doubt. I remained passively under this impression until it became necessary, during the last session, to examine the question, when I took up the discussion of '98, with the expectation of having my previous impressions confirmed. The result was difficult. I was struck on reading the debate, with the superiority of the argument of those who contended that the power was not vested by the Constitution to the Executive. To me they appeared to be far more statesman like, than the opposite argument, and partaking much more of the spirit of prophecy. After reading this debate, I turned to the Constitution, which I read with care in reference to the subject discussed, when, for the first time, I was struck with the full force of the clause which I have quoted; and which, in my opinion, forever settles the controversy.

I will now (said Mr. C.) proceed to consider what will be the effect on the operation of the system under the construction which I have given.—In the first place it would put down all discretionary power, and convert the government into what the framers intended it should be, a government of laws and not of discretion. If the construction be established, no officer, from the President to the Constable—and from the Chief Justice to the lowest judicial officer, could exercise any power but what is expressly granted by the Constitution or by some Act of Congress. And thus, that which in a free state is most odious and dangerous of all things, the discretionary power of those who are charged with the execution of the laws, will be effectually suppressed and the dominion of the laws be fully established.

It would, in the next place, unite, harmonize, and blend into one whole, all the powers of the government and prevent that perpetual and dangerous conflict which would necessarily exist between the departments of this Government under the opposite construction. Permit each department to judge of the extent of its own powers, and to assume the right to exercise all powers which it may deem necessary and proper to execute the powers granted to it, and who does not see, that in fact the government would consist of three independent, separate and conflicting departments, without any common point of union, instead of one united authority controlling the whole? Nor would it be difficult to see, in what this contest between conflicting de-

partments would terminate. The Executive must prevail over the other departments. Without its concurrence the action of the other departments are impotent; if neither the decrees of the Court, nor the acts of Congress, can be executed but through the Executive authority, and if the President be permitted to assume whatever power he may deem to be appurtenant to his granted powers, and to decide according to his will and pleasure, and on his own responsibility, whether the decision of the Courts or the acts of Congress are or are not consistent with the rights which he may arrogate to himself, it is impossible not to see that the authority of the legislative and judicial departments would be under his control. Nor is it difficult to see that if he may add the power of dismissal to that of appointing, and thus assert unlimited control over all who hold office, he would find but little difficulty in maintaining himself in the most extravagant assumption of power. We are not without experience on this subject. To what but to the false and dangerous doctrine against which I am contending, and into which the present Chief Magistrate has fallen, are we to attribute the frequent conflicts between the executive and the other departments of the government; and which so strongly illustrates the truth of what I have stated? Under the opposite and true view of our system, all these dangerous jars and conflicts would cease. It unites the whole in one, and the legislative becomes as it ought to be, the centre of the system—the stomach and the brain, into which all is taken, digested and assimilated, and by which the action of the whole is regulated by a common intelligence, and this without destroying the distinct and independent functions of the parts. Each is left in possession of the powers expressly granted by the constitution, and which may be executed without the aid of the legislative department; and in the exercise of which there is no possibility of coming into conflict with the other departments, while all discretionary power necessary to execute the granted, in the exercise of which the separate departments would necessarily come into conflict, are, by a wise and beautiful provision of the constitution, transferred to Congress, to be exercised solely according to its discretion, and thus avoiding, as far as the departments of the government are concerned, the possibility of collision between the parts. By a provision no less wise, this union of power in Congress, is so regulated, as to prevent the legislative from absorbing the other departments of the government. To guard the executive against encroachment of Congress, the President is raised from his mere ministerial functions to a participation in the Constitution, his approval is required to the acts of Congress; and his veto, given him as a shield to protect him against the encroachment of the legislative department, can arrest the acts of Congress, unless passed by two-thirds of both houses—and here let me say, that I cannot concur in the resolution offered by my friend from Maryland, (Dr. Kent) which proposes to divest the Executive of his veto. I hold it to be indispensable, and that mainly on the ground that the constitution has vested in Congress the high discretionary power under consideration, which, but for the veto, however indispensable for the harmony and unity of the government, might prove destructive to the independence of the President. He must indeed be a most feeble and incompetent chief magistrate, if, aided by the veto, he would not have sufficient influence to protect his necessary powers against the encroachments of Congress—not the encroachments without ample protection against tenure by which the judges hold their office and the right of the court to pronounce when a case comes before them, upon the constitutionality of the acts of Congress, as far at least as the other departments are concerned, affords to the judiciary an ample protection. Thus all the departments are united in one, so as to constitute a single government, instead of three distinct, separate and conflicting departments, without impairing their separate and distinct functions, while at the same time, the peace and harmony of the whole are preserved.

There remains, said Mr. C., to be noted, another consequence not less important. The construction for which I contend, strikes at the root of that dangerous control which the President would have over all who hold office, if the power of appointing and removal, without limitation or restriction, were united in him. Let us not be deceived by names. The power in question is too great for a Chief Magistrate of a free State. It is in its nature an imperial power—and if he be permitted to exercise it, his authority must become as absolute, as that of the Autocrat of all the Russias. To give him the power to dismiss, at his will and pleasure without limitation or control, is to give him an absolute and unlimited control over the subsistence of almost all who hold office under Government—let him have the power, and the sixty thousand who now hold employment under Government, would become dependent upon him for the means of existence; of that vast multitude, I may venture to assert, that there are very few whose subsistence does not more or less depend upon their public employment.—Who does not see, that a power so unlimited and despotic, over this great and powerful corps, must tend to corrupt and debase those who compose it, and to convert them into the supple and willing instruments of him who wields it? And here let me remark, (said Mr. C.) that I have been unfairly represented in reference to this point. I have been charged, to assert, that the whole body of office holders are corrupt, debased and subservient!—With what views, those who made this charge, can best explain. I have made no such assertion—nor could it with truth be made. I know that there are many virtuous and high minded citizens who hold public office, but it is not therefore the less true, that the tendency of the power of dismissal is such as I have attributed to it; and that if the power be left unqualified, and the practice be continued as of late, the result must be the complete corruption and debasement of those in public em-

ploy. What, (Mr. C. asked,) has been that powerful cause that has wrought that wonderful change which history teaches us has occurred, at different periods, in the character of nations? What has bowed down that high genius and chivalrous feeling; that independent and proud spirit which characterized all free States, in rising from the barbarous to the civilized condition? and which finally converted them into base sycophants and flatterers? Under the operation of what cause did the proud and stubborn conquerors of the world—the haughty Romans, sink down to that low and servile debasement, which followed the decay of the Republic? What but the mighty cause which I am considering? The power which one man exercised over the fortunes and subsistence, the honor and standing of all those in office, or who aspired to public employment? Man is naturally proud and independent, and if he loses these noble qualities in the progress of civilization, it is because, by the concentration of power, he who controls the Government becomes deified in the eyes of those who live and expect to live by his bounty. Instead of resting their hopes on a kind Providence and their own honest exertions, all who aspire, are taught to believe that the most certain road to honor and fortune, is servility and flattery. We already experience its corroding operation. With the power of Executive patronage, and the control which the Executive has established over those in office, by the exercise of this tremendous power, we witness among ourselves the progress of this base and servile spirit, which already presents so striking a contrast between the former and present character of our people.

It is in vain to attempt to deny the change. I have marked its progress in a thousand instances within the last few years. I have seen the spirit of independent men holding public employ, sink under the dread of this dreadful power. Too honest and too firm to become the instruments or flatterers of power, yet too prudent, with all the consequences before them, to whisper disapprobation of what in their hearts they condemned. Let the present state of things continue—let it be understood that none are to acquire the public honors or to attain them but by flattery and base compliance, and in a few generations the American character will become utterly corrupt and debased.

Now is the time to arrest this fatal tendency, much will depend upon the vote on the measure which is now before you. Should it receive the sanction of this body and the other branch of the Legislature, and the principle be now established, that the power of dismissal is subject to be regulated by the action of Congress, and not as is contended by those who would vest it in the Executive, the system may yet be arrested. The discretionary and despotic power, which the President has assumed to exercise over all in the public employment, would be subject to the control of law; and public officers, instead of considering themselves as the mere agents of the Executive department, and liable to be dismissed at his will and pleasure, without regard to conduct, would be placed under the protection of the laws.

But it is objected by the Senator from Tennessee, (Mr. Grundy,) that the construction for which I contend would destroy the power of the President, and arrest the action of the Government. I must be permitted to express my surprise (said Mr. C.) that such an objection should come from that experienced and sagacious Senator. He seems entirely to forget that the President, not only possesses executive powers but also legislative, and that he is not only a chief magistrate, but also a part of the law making power. Does he not recollect that the President has his veto? And that no law can be passed, which would improperly diminish the authority which ought to belong to him as chief magistrate without his consent, unless passed against his veto by two-thirds of both houses? An event which it is believed had not occurred, since the commencement of the Government, and the occurrence of which is highly improbable. How then can it be asserted that the construction for which I contend, would destroy the just authority of the President? Every proposition to regulate and control the power of dismissal would become a question of expediency, and would be liable to be assailed by all who might suppose that it would impair improperly the power of the chief magistrate; and seconded as they could be, by the veto, if necessary, there could be but little danger that restrictions too rigid would be imposed on his authority. The Senator from Tennessee also objects that the measure would be impracticable, and asks with an air of triumph, what would the Senate do, if the reasons of the President should be unsatisfactory?

I do not (said Mr. C.) agree with those who think that the Senate can or ought to continue to reject the nomination of the President in such cases until the officer who has been dismissed shall be restored. I believe that course to be impracticable and that in such a struggle the resistance of the Senate would be finally overcome. My hope is that the fact itself that the President must assign reasons for removal would of itself go far to check the abuses which now exist. I cannot think that any President would assign to the Senate as a reason for removal, that the officer removed was opposed to him on party grounds. Such is the deceptive character of the human heart that it is reconciled to do many things under plausible coverings which it would not openly avow; but suppose there should be a President who would act upon the principle of removing on a mere difference of opinion, without any other fault in the officer, and who would be bold enough to avow such as his reason, Congress would not be at a loss for a remedy, the principle for which I contend. A law might be passed that would reach the case. It might be declared that the removal by the President, if his reasons should not prove satisfactory, should act merely as a suspension to the termination of the next ensuing session, unless filled by the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Senator from Tennessee has conjured up a state of frightful collision between the Executive

and the dismissed officers, and has represented the Senate Chamber as the arena where this conflict, must be carried on. He says if the President should be bound to assign his reasons, the party dismissed would of right have a claim to be heard as to the truth and correctness of those reasons, and that the Senate would have its whole time engrossed in listening to the trial. All this is merely imaginary, if the President on his part should exercise the power of removal with discretion and justice, which he ought, and with which all the predecessors of the present chief magistrate have in fact exercised it. Does he suppose if a measure, such as is now before the Senate, had been in operation at the commencement of the Government, that the father of his country—a man no less distinguished by his moderation than his wisdom, would have experienced the least embarrassment from its operation? Does he suppose that the dismissal of nine officers in eight years during the Presidency, would have given all that annoyance to him and this body, which the Senator anticipates from the measure? Would there have been any difficulty in the time of the elder Adams, either to himself or to the Senate, from the ten officers whom he dismissed during his Presidency? Would any have been experienced during Mr. Jefferson's Presidency of eight years, even with the forty two whom he dismissed? or in the Presidency of Mr. Madison, that mild and amiable man, who in eight years of great excitement, of which nearly three were a period of war, dismissed but five officers? Or during the Presidency of Mr. Monroe, who, in eight years, dismissed but nine officers? Or of the younger Mr. Adams, who in four years dismissed but two officers? I come now, said Mr. C., to the present administration, and here I concede, that with the dismissal of 530 officers in the first year, and I know not how many since, the scene of trouble and difficulty both to the President and Senate, which the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy,) painted in such lively colors, would have occurred; had the measure been in operation, this however constitutes no objection to the measure; but to the abuse; the gross and dangerous abuse of the power of dismissal which it is intended to correct. It is a recommendation that it would impede and embarrass the abuse of so dangerous a power. The more numerous and greater the impediment, to such abuses the better. I apprehend, said Mr. C., that the Senator from Tennessee, (Mr. Grundy,) entirely misconceives the operation of the measure, under a discreet and moderate administration. Under such a one the charges exhibited against an officer would be transmitted to the accused; would undergo a regular and impartial trial, the measure would be acted on, and the officer be discharged, the whole proceedings would accompany the nomination of the successor, as showing the grounds on which he was dismissed.

During the time, said Mr. C., that I occupied the place of Secretary at War, under Mr. Monroe, two officers of the government, holding civil employment, connected with that department, were dismissed for improper conduct; and in both cases the course which I have indicated was adopted.—The officers were not dismissed until after a full investigation, and the reasons for dismissal reduced to writing and communicated to them.

But the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy,) further objects, that the construction for which we contend would concentrate all powers of the government in Congress, and would thus constitute the very essence of despotism which consists, as he asserts, in uniting the powers of the three departments in one. I could, said Mr. C., hardly have anticipated, that one whose conceptions are so clear on most subjects would venture so bold an assertion. Has not the Senator reflected on the nature of the legislative department in our system. To make a law, it is necessary not only to have the participation of the two Houses, but that also of the Executive, except indeed in the case of a veto, when, as has been stated, the measure must be passed by two-thirds of both Houses. Does he not see from this, that to vest Congress, as the Constitution has done, with all the discretionary power, is in vest the power not simply in the two houses, but also in the President; and is in fact to require the concurrence of both Departments to the exercise of such high and dangerous powers, instead of leaving it to each separately, as would have been the fact without this wise provision? I will tell the Senator that it is the doctrine for which he, and not that for which we contend, which leads to concentration—a doctrine which would leave to each department to assume whatever power it might choose, and which in its necessary effects, as has been shown, would concentrate all the powers of the government in the Chief Magistrate. This process has been going on under our eyes rapidly for the last few years; and yet the gentleman who appears now to be so sensitive as to the danger of concentration, looks on with perfect indifference, not to say with approbation. We have, said Mr. C., lost all sensibility; we have become callous and hardened under the operation of those deleterious practices and principles which characterize the times. What a few years since would have shocked and round the whole community, is now scarcely perceived or felt. Then the dismissal of a few inconsiderable officers, on party grounds, as was supposed, was followed by a general burst of indignation; but now the dismissal of thousands, when it is openly avowed that the public officers are the “spoils of the victors,” produces scarcely a sensation. It passes as an ordinary event.

The present state of the country, said Mr. C., was then anticipated. It was foreseen as far back as 1826, that the time would come when the income of the government and the number of those in its employ would be doubled, and that the control of the President, with the power of dismissal, would become irresistible. All of which was urged as an inducement for reform at that early period; and as a reason why the administration then in power should be expelled, and those opposed to them should









# THE CAROLINIAN.

**SALISBURY:**  
Saturday Morning, April 25, 1835.

**CANDIDATE FOR CONVENTION.**  
We are authorized to say that CHARLES FISHER, Esq., has consented to become a candidate to represent Rowan County in the Convention.

## BRANCHES OF THE MINT IN THE SOUTH.

It will be recollected that, during the last Session of Congress, an Act was passed establishing several branches of the Mint in the South, that is, one at New Orleans, for coining Gold and Silver, and one in Georgia, and another in North Carolina, for coining Gold alone. This measure is one of considerable importance, or it is so believed to be, and, as a consequence, a dispute has arisen between certain of the Jackson prints, and some of the Whig papers, as to which party is entitled to the credit of it. These Jackson Editors, with their usual modesty, claim all the "glory" for the Administration, while the Whig papers deny that any part of it is due to that quarter. Now, we have carefully examined all the proceedings had on this subject, and, judging from these, as likewise from other sources of information, we come to the conclusion that neither party is wholly right, and that the truth lies between.

The Bill originated in the Senate, and was reported by a Committee of that body. Mr. Calhoun was its principal advocate, and Mr. Clay its chief opponent. Other Senators took a part in the debate which arose on the Bill, among the rest, Messrs. Benton, Mangum, and Brown, but the two Senators first named, Calhoun and Clay, were the prominent speakers. When the *Yeas* and *Nays* were taken, the Bill was carried by the opposition Senators of the South, and the Administration Senators, with a few exceptions. Without this co-operation, the Bill could not have passed through the Senate. It is very certain, however, that the two parties supported the measure from very different motives. The Administration Senators went for the Bill on the grounds, that it would aid in doing away the necessity of a United States Bank, and hasten on that glorious era, predicted by them, when gold will constitute the circulating medium of the country. Under this belief the Bill became a favorite with the Administration, and was supported in both Houses by that party. On no other grounds than these, could the N. York and Pennsylvania delegation have been induced to go for it; and even as a party measure some of them boggled at it a good while before they were whipped in—and more especially, as it was a measure which, heretofore, the Administration has openly discountenanced.

The opposition Senators, from the South, supported this measure on very different principles from those which influenced Benton & Co. Mr. Calhoun's speeches on the Bill distinctly state these grounds. One of his arguments was, that this is a State Rights measure. Heretofore, the practice and the policy of the Government has been to concentrate all public establishments in the large cities at the North, or somewhere in the central States near the seat of power, the inevitable result of which, has been to take away from the more remote States, and especially the South, their consequence and wealth, by drawing every thing towards the centre. This measure will somewhat break in on this tendency, and restore back to the States some of the benefits heretofore taken from them. The gold collected in the South, whether from mines, or by trade, is as much the product of southern labor as the *Cotton* which grows in our fields; and it is just as reasonable to say that our cotton shall be sent to Philadelphia to be packed into square bales for exportation, as that our gold shall be sent there to be coined into round pieces to be put into circulation. Heretofore the amount of bullion imported into New-Orleans has been greater, annually, than that taken to Philadelphia. Nevertheless, all of it had to be sent round to Philadelphia, at a great expense, to be changed into coin.—We believe that the Mint policy has been a wrong one, and we consider that it is now changed. Without doubt next year a Mint will be established at New York;—we think it ought to be, and perhaps at some other important points.

A few words as to the origin of the idea of a branch of the Mint in North Carolina. It is a mistake that it originated with any member of Congress from N. Carolina. It was talked of, as desired among the miners a considerable time before it was moved in Congress: finally a memorial was got up and sent on, which first introduced it before Congress. About the same time, a Committee of our Legislature were instructed to consider the subject, and inquire whether the General Assembly ought not to make a move in favor of the measure. This Committee made a very able report in favor of it, signed by GEORGE GLENN, as Chairman, but written by J. H. Bissel, of Mecklenburg county; and the Legislature sent a memorial to Congress urging the measure upon their attention. At that time Mr. Benton took no interest in the measure, and, perhaps, was against it, but now, according to the Standard, he is entitled to all the credit.—How justly, every candid mind can judge.

We have thought it due to the subject to give this history of the measure.

## OLD KING CAUCUS COME TO LIFE AGAIN!!

The Van Buren system of management is based on the belief, that the People are not capable of governing themselves, and therefore that it is necessary to govern them by artifices, and humbuggery. Yes, humbuggery is the machine, and the Office-holders and Office-seekers are the "operatives" that work it. Ten years ago the People took the alarm against this system of dictation, rose in their might and put it down. It was then changed its form, and is now NATIONAL CAUCUS; but if the people will look sharp they will soon discover the "clever foot," and see that it is Old King Caucus himself, come to life again. He thinks by putting on a different garb he will deceive us, particularly as he has succeeded in drawing over some of his former adversaries; but let him not be too sure of it;—already the people begin to take the alarm—already they are arousing themselves, and woe-bede his old hide at the polls in 1836. In 1824 we voted him out of North Carolina by a clear majority of 5,000 votes; and in 1836 we can do still better.

We have a well organized band to fight against:—

the old King pays well in good fat offices, and he promises to his partisans the rich "spoils" of the country. They will fight hard, but we will rout them, nevertheless—let the Whigs awake from their lethargy—take the field boldly, and all will be safe.

## ANOTHER PET BANK.

The last "Standard" announces to the world the thrilling intelligence, that the *New Bank* at Raleigh is about to be selected "as a fiscal agent of the United States." The Editor says:

"While on this subject, we will take occasion to state, that it is in contemplation to select the *Bank of the State of North-Carolina*, in this city, as a fiscal agent of the United States. No measure of the Administration of the Government, connected with the currency of the country, excepting the establishment of a Branch Mint in the West, could meet with more favor from all parties in North-Carolina, than this."

Now, for our part, we think the zealous Editor of the "Standard" rather overrates the importance of this "MEASURE" of the Administration of the General Government, in more ways than one: First, we do not believe that the transferring of a few thousand dollars to the Bank at Raleigh, in deposit, is going to be of any great service to the people of North-Carolina, or of very much benefit to the Bank; and next, we do not think that it will convert many of the Directors Stockholders, or Debtors of the Bank to Martin Van Buren. But, be the "MEASURE," as the Editor calls it, ever so important, we doubt very much whether the real credit of it should go the *Administration*. We think it belongs to Judge WHITE; for it is the rapid progress he is making in North-Carolina to which we are indebted for the BENEFITS of this great MEASURE. Prospects are growing rather equally in North-Carolina for Van Buren, and something must be done to cheer up his friends, and give them grounds to go on. Mr. VIZTOR BRAGG has had his zeal a little quickened by the certainty of a ride on the Trojan horse—on "Bragg's Pony," up the North River. Secretary WHEELER is besting up for recruits through the Edenton District, to the merry tune of \$2,000 per year. Commissioner Saunders is seeing what he can do, to the tune of \$3,000 per year, in actual possession, and \$2,000 in expectation as Mint Agent. And now, to aid these disinterested REPUBLICANS in their workings and doings, the new Bank at Raleigh is about to be made "a fiscal agent of the United States."—Or, as John Randolph used to say, the People are about to be "bribed with their own money." These are glorious times of "Democracy" indeed! Already, one of the drill corporals of the party has been throwing out the bait to Salisburies, by saying that, when the Government makes the new Bank at Raleigh a *Deposit Bank*, then that Bank will be able to establish a Branch at Salisbury, and, therefore, we ought to be in favor of the Administration.—People of Salisbury, prepare yourselves to be converted!

## THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION.

NOW is the time for the Whig papers in North-Carolina, and indeed every where else, to expose this bare faced attempt at imposition, and lay it open in its true colors to the people. Let the people before hand see through this MANEUVER, and then it will fall harmless to the ground—the mountain will labor, and the ridiculous mouse will creep forth. If this is not done before hand, if the people be not forewarned, the thing may do some mischief; for no sooner than the CAUCUS nominates VAN BUREN, than all the pensioned presses, all the office-holders and office-seekers, will cry out, in one grand chorus, Martin Van Buren, the Democratic Candidate!! nominated by the Republican National Convention!! and all this, too, when every well informed man in the country knew before hand, that not a human soul in Van Buren men attended that Caucus, and that the sole and whole object of the CAUCUS was to nominate Van Buren for the Presidency.

It is true, when they get there, they will act over a farce, as they did two years ago, in a similar Caucus, at the same place. The following account of that affair, we mean the other "Baltimore Convention," is taken from the "Virginia Statesman":

The Editor says "that it was detailed to him by one who was then, and still is, a warm personal and political friend of General Jackson, and who was at the time and now is a member of Congress." Just such a farce will be acted upon the same theatre on the 20th of May next.

"We met there," (said he), "with a full understanding that Mr. Van Buren (and no one else) should be nominated for the Vice Presidency. But, as we professed to be a DELIBERATIVE body, and had ostensibly been sent there for the purpose of choosing a candidate, it became necessary, in order to keep up this assumed character, before the public, that the Convention should, by a ballot, manifest some apparent difference of opinion, as to the choice of an individual. Hence it was agreed in Caucus, that the Convention should ballot—that a minority of the members should vote for Judge Barbour, in order to delude the people into the belief that the Convention was not pledged—and that, after a manifestation of this apparent difference of sentiment, Mr. Van Buren should be UNANIMOUSLY nominated. Accordingly the farce was acted out—a ballot was taken, and Judge Barbour received a minority of the votes—another ballot was taken, and Mr. Van received the UNANIMOUS vote of the Convention, in accordance with the caucus arrangement—and the public were duped with the impression that the Convention had met for the purpose of choosing a candidate, when, in fact, its members assembled with the determination, of nominating Van Buren and no other person."

We will close these remarks with an extract from the "Nashville Republican," a paper which advocates the election of Judge White with zeal and ability, and may be considered as speaking the sentiments of the Judge himself. The Republican says:

The Union says, "the States of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey have already, through their State Conventions, signified their preference for the same distinguished citizen, (Mr. Van Buren) designated by Pennsylvania. Mississippi has done the same, and no well informed man can doubt that a large majority of the friends of the present administration in Ohio, Maryland, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Kentucky, entertain the same opinion, and will cordially unite in the support of the same individual."

If this be the fact, Mr. Van Buren will unquestionably be elected, and we cannot for our life see the necessity of a Baltimore Convention. Its advocates say that its intention is to concentrate public opinion, and yet, in the same breath, they boast that public opinion is already concentrated upon Mr. Van Buren; that he is the choice of a large majority of the Democratic Party, and must certainly be elected. Why do they continue then to urge, so clamorously, the importance of a National Convention?

It is, at least, a measure of a very questionable character, and if victory is so certain to perch upon Mr. Van Buren's standard, there can be no necessity for resorting to it. Judge White's friends have never proposed or advocated a Convention, and they are willing to trust the issue to the whole body of the People, notwithstanding so large a majority is said to be in favor of Mr. Van Buren. They are true Republicans, and they do not wish to see American citizens stripped of any of their privileges, and especially the most glorious of all, the privilege of thinking for themselves.

## THE CONVENTION.

Below, we give complete returns of the votes given in every County in the State for and against Convention. It will be seen that the aggregate vote pro and con is but a small one, and that the majority in favour of the measure is only 5,566. Gov. Swain has issued his Proclamation appointing Thursday, the 21st day of May next, for the election of Delegates to the Convention, which will meet in Raleigh on the 4th of June.

	For.	Against.
Anson	736	75
Ashe	261	411
Buncombe	1199	41
Bertie	117	236
Bladen	29	479
Brunswick	41	374
Burke	1833	11
Cabarrus	505	71
Columbus	7	367
Carteret	74	266
Currituck	6	349
Chatham	865	78
Chowan	59	315
Cumberland	559	207
Camden	8	558
Caswell	627	201
Craven	165	210
Duplin	74	523
Davidson	1014	47
Edgecomb	57	939
Franklin	73	676
Granville	270	823
Gates	22	473
Greene	4	370
Guilford	1271	143
Halifax	225	364
Hertford	16	436
Hyde	5	473
Haywood	474	33
Iredell	1049	27
Johnston	68	966
Jones	45	100
Lincoln	1779	22
Lenoir	66	147
Macon	564	12
Moore	468	23
Montgomery	530	138
Mecklenburg	1045	113
Martin	6	735
New Hanover	125	505
Nash	26	630
Northampton	9	361
Onslow	31	496
Orange	1648	111
Person	112	544
Pasquotank	16	520
Pitt	23	739
Perquimans	12	511
Rowan	1266	2
Randolph	732	23
Rockingham	824	84
Robeson	62	481
Richmond	359	15
Rutherford	1013	1
Sampson	116	523
Surry	1410	29
Stokes	1136	152
Tyrrell	4	453
Washington	26	347
Wilkes	1033	141
Wayne	76	438
Wake	370	901
Yancey	621	6
	27,550	21,694
Majority	5,856	

## THE BOROUGH REPRESENTATION.

The Act of the Legislature leaves it discretionary with the Convention, either to abolish or to restrain the Borough System. Borough Representation, in North-Carolina, is a relic of the "rotten borough" system in England; and, as even in England, it has been measurably abolished, we believe scarcely an effort will be made to retain it in our Constitution. If the question was submitted to the citizens of Salisbury, either to strike out or retain it, we are of the opinion that the general voice would be—let it go. It cannot be denied, that the Boroughs have generally sent excellent members to the Legislature—men of talents and of business qualifications, and so far it was so good; but evils have arisen out of the system to the Borough towns themselves more than overbalancing this advantage. We will not enumerate these evils, because it is unnecessary to do so. Suffice it to say, they are such as to make us rejoice that the days of the Borough System in North Carolina are numbered.

If the new Constitution should be ratified, we will have no more Borough contests in North-Carolina, at least no more after the next election; for it may be possible, that the next Legislature will be elected under the old Constitution, though we think it ought not, if it can be avoided.

We will only add, further, that the candidates for Convention from this County, we understand, are for abolishing Borough Representation.

## THE VICE PRESIDENCY—AGAIN.

The Nashville Republican denies that there is any truth in the report, put out by the "Union," that Judge White's friends had made application to Levi Woodbury to run for Vice President on the White Ticket. It appears, however, that an application had been made to Mr. Woodbury to give the use of his "great name" for that purpose, but it did not come from Tennessee. One man from Ohio, two from New-York, and one from some where else, were the applicants. If Levi could see any chance of success, nobody doubts but that he would jump at it.

**Severity of the Winter.**—As an evidence of the severity of the Winter, it is now ascertained that the "pride of China," that beautiful shade-tree of the South, has been killed down to the ground by the cold—a circumstance that has never before occurred in Salisbury, to the present extent. It is not uncommon for the young China tree to be injured in this climate by the frost, but generally the old trees have stood through the winter in safety. This time, however, old and young have fallen victims to the icy breath of old Boreas. The destruction of these beautiful trees, which have contributed so essentially to the ornament and comfort of our Town, will give our streets quite a desolate appearance for a time. The China is, however, of very rapid growth, and we have nothing to do but to cut off the old stock near the ground, and the young shoots, if protected, will soon spring up and supply the loss. We also learn that the Fig-tree is generally killed, and the Rose-bush, the evergreen rose, (simpler sirens,) is killed down to the very roots.

We will in our next re-publish, from the Salem Reporter, a well written communication on the subject of Convention, signed "Aesclepiades."

The Bank of Newbern has recently declared a dividend, on its Capital Stock, of 16 per cent.

**Mr. Calhoun's Speech.**—We call the attention of our readers to the able and interesting Speech, on the first page of this week's Carolinian, delivered in the United States Senate last session, by Mr. Calhoun, on one of the most important Reports that ever came before that body—the Report on Executive Patronage.

## GEORGIA MOVING.

We see, from the Milledgeville papers, that the Central Committee of the State Rights Party, have fixed on the third Monday in June, as the day for the meeting of a General Convention of the party, to nominate a Candidate to fill the vacancy in Congress, occasioned by the appointment of Judge Wayne to office; also, to nominate a Candidate to be run for Governor, and likewise to take some measures on the subject of the next Presidency.

We learn from the Charlotte Journal, of the 23rd instant, that James M. Hutchison, Esq., a whole-hog-kitchen-cabinet-Jackson Van Burenite, has been rewarded for his distinguished services, in voting for the instruction of Senator Mangum, by the appointment of "Superintendent of Buildings for the Mint, to be erected at Charlotte." The "loaves and fishes" are all to be divided amongst the faithful.

**Virginia Elections.**—The Elections in Virginia are progressing slowly; so far as the returns have reached us the result is about balanced between the two parties, each gaining in some Counties and losing in others.—From a Postscript in the last Raleigh Register we are gratified to learn that the talented and faithful Representative of the Town of Petersburg, John T. Brown, has triumphed over his Van Buren competitor by a majority of 40 votes. The most extraordinary efforts were made by the Van Burenites to defeat his election.

A Roman Catholic Church is building in the City of Raleigh, and it is said, will soon be finished.

Lawrence, who attempted to take the life of the President, was tried on the 11th instant, and acquitted. Verdict of the Jury: "We find him not Guilty, he having been under the influence of insanity, at the time he committed the act."

## [FOR THE WESTERN CAROLINIAN.]

**MEMOR. EDITORS:** It was with considerable amusement that I observed an article in the last Watchman, in the shape of a critical comment on the performance of the Theatians of this place. The Society, I believe, do not pretend to be deeply versed in the mysteries of Dramatic Performances, either Tragic or Comic; but by their performance good or bad, I guess some folks will be more disposed to laugh at the silly effusion, than at the ridiculous attempt. I must confess, for my part, that it had a wonderful effect, in that way, upon my risible faculties.

From this powerful evidence of the writer's talent at farce, I would earnestly advise this learned Dramatist, the next time he wishes to write something funny, to give the Theatians the "go by," and narrate the highly interesting and deeply—I had like to have said farcical—narrate that highly interesting and deeply Tragical story of a "Visit to see Gen. Jackson at the Hermitage," and I have no doubt but that he will effectually attain his end. HARRY LEE.

**Columbia Market.**—The last Times remarks: "That Cotton, for the week, had come in sparingly, and sold freely, at from 14 to 17 1/2. Some few lots sold as high as 18. Corn—but little coming in, and sales ready at \$1 1/2, from wagons."

**Camden Market.**—The Camden Journal states, "that there is a fair quantity of Cotton going into that market, for the season, and prices are steadily advancing. Sales have been made, during the week, at 15 1/2 to 17 1/2 cents. Corn is scarce, and brings out of wagons 95 cents."

## SHIP NEWS

### ARRIVED AT FAYETTEVILLE:

April 8, Steamer John Walker, with Dry Goods, &c., for E. Smith & Son, D. Lindsey & Co., G. W. Lindsey, A. H. Lindsey, J. Johnson, John Murphy, Murphy & Taylor, Mebane & Moring, MacAdoo & Scott, J. & R. Gilmore, W. & G. Gilmer, Rev. A. McCallum, Thomas J. Buchanan, J. & J. S. Gibson, Nathan Hunt, J. J. Blackwood, Wm. Murphy, D. C. Lilly, Farish & McNeill, Robert E. Rives, Donald & McLean, E. W. McBurn, T. Morrow, D. & G. A. Ramsour, and D. Ramsour, of the interior.

### UNITED IN WEDLOCK,

In Rowan, on the 23rd inst., by the Rev. S. Rothrock, Mr. DAVID MILLER to Miss ELIZABETH BUTNER.

### DEPARTED THIS LIFE,

In Columbus, Mississippi, on the 20th ult. Mr. ROBERT B. MITCHELL, a native of North-Carolina aged 25 years.

## Fresh Goods!

New and Cheap!!

### WILLIAM MURPHY

Has just received, from New York and Philadelphia, A LARGE AND GENERAL ASSORTMENT

### OF SPRING & SUMMER GOODS,

Which have been selected with much care and attention and bought for the Spring of 1835.

### HIS STOCK CONSISTS, IN PART, OF

### DRY-GOODS,

### Hard-Ware

### AND

### Cutlery,

### QUEENS-WARE,

### AND

### GROCERIES, &c., &c.

He invites his Friends and the Public to call, hear prices, examine quality, and judge for themselves.

Country produce, of all kinds, bought at the highest market prices.

A liberal discount will be allowed to all CASH customers.

Salisbury, April 25, 1835.

### A Stallion

### FOR SALE

He is a descendant of the celebrated imported horse "Turk," was bred in Virginia, is 6 years old this spring, and is a first-rate saddle and harness horse, well-gaited and gentle. He had commenced a very successful campaign in the Forks of the Yadkin previous to his purchase by the present proprietor. He will be disposed of low for cash only.

April 25—31 Apply at THIS OFFICE.



20th of May, 1778

## MECKLENBURG Declaration of Independence!

## DIVISION ORDERS:

## Head-Quarters,

Salisbury, April 8, 1835.

FOR the purpose of commemorating the First Declaration of American Independence in a manner suitable to the importance of that interesting event, the Regiment of Cavalry under the command of Col. Greer, and the First Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers under the command of Col. Coleman, are ordered to parade in Charlotte, on the 20th day of May next, by 10 o'clock, A. M. By order of Maj. Genl. THOMAS G. POLK. R. MACNAMARA, Division Inspector.

## Take Notice,

THAT, in three months from the date hereof, application will be made to the President and Directors of the State Bank of North-Carolina, for the renewal of Certificates for three Shares of Stock in the said Bank, in the name of Eliza Conner, (now Eliza Simonton;) said Certificates having been lost or mislaid.

WM. S. SIMONTON.

Catawba Springs, April 25, 1835. 3m

## WHEELER & BURNS

RETURN their sincere acknowledgements to their friends and customers—particularly to the Merchants and Physicians—for the liberal patronage heretofore bestowed upon them, and hope, by a strict and constant attention to their business, to merit a continuance of the same.

They have just received a large and full Supply of

Fresh Medicines, PAINTS, DYE STUFFS, OILS, CANDLES, PERFUMES, Brushes, Instruments, and Glass-Ware.

—ALSO—

A Choice and General Selection of Cigars, Snuffs, Tobacco, Rice, Wine, and Spirits.

Which they will be pleased at all times to accommodate their friends and customers with, upon reasonable terms—always holding themselves responsible for the quality of any article they may sell. Salisbury, April 18, 1835.

## Emporium of Fashion.

Mrs. S. D. Pendleton,

MILLINER,

AND

MANTUA MAKER,

Has just received from New-York the Latest Spring and Summer Fashions

FOR 1835.

EMBRACING

LADIES' MORNING, DINING, AND EVENING DRESSES.

LADIES' CAPES, CAPS, BONNETS, &c., &c.

She flatters herself that, from a knowledge of her business acquired in ten years, and having made arrangements with one of the most fashionable Millinery Establishments in the City of New York, to supply her regularly with the latest fashions, she will be enabled to have her Millinery made up in a Superior Style, and on the most reasonable terms.

Mrs. P. respectfully invites the Ladies of Salisbury, and the adjoining country, to call and examine, and assures them she will sell every article in her line on accommodating terms. She is prepared for Cleaning and Pressing Tuscan, Leghorn, and Straw Bonnets in the Northern Style.

Specimens of her work, both in Dressing and Making of Bonnets, and Dresses, may be seen at her Shop—Sign of the GREEN BONNET, two doors above Messrs Wheeler and Burns' Apothecary and Drug Store, where all orders will be thankfully received and punctually attended to.

N. B. Mrs. P. always keeps an assortment of Fashionable Ribbons on hand, and can supply, on reasonable terms, those who may wish Bonnets trimmed.

—if— April 11, 1835.

## Another New Supply

## WATCHES, JEWELLERY, &c.

THE Subscriber has just returned from New-York and Philadelphia with a handsome assortment of JEWELLERY and WATCHES, and will sell cheaper than they can be obtained in this part of the State; they consist, in part, of the following, viz:

Gentlemen's Gold & Silver Lever

Ladies' Gold

Silver English, French, Lapine, and Swiss

Fine Gold Fob and Guard Chains;

Fine Gold and Plated Guard Keys;

Plated Long-linked and Curb Chains;

Silver Butter-Knives and Tooth Picks;

Silver Ever-pointed Pencils—improved;

Fine Shell MUSIC-BOXES;

Superior Razors—made by Roger and Butcher;

Fine Pen and Pocket-Knives;

Shell, Tuck, and Side COMBS;

Fine PISTOLS and Razor Straps;

A fine assortment of Ear-Rings, Breast-Pins, and Finger-Rings.

Silver Th



